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MICHAEL SCOTT

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

No. 1,290

London, March 17, 1961

SIXPENCE

**US Air Express
Edition 10 cents**

**The Party leadership has funk'd facing the
Polaris issue, says Emrys Hughes**

LABOUR'S LORD SALISBURYS

By Emrys Hughes, MP

MR. FRANK COUSINS has again done a service to the Labour Party by stating bluntly that the latest Defence statement produced by the joint Labour Party—TUC—Parliamentary Labour Party is very little different from the one that was defeated at Scarborough. Indeed, he declares that it is worse. And in this respect he is quite right.

Now Mr. Cousins' own statement is not a pacifist declaration—it would have been more logical if it had been. But it is a much more precise and clear attempt to state a policy for Labour than either the official document or the Crossman amendment to it.

For example, Mr. Cousins states quite clearly: "The provision of nuclear bases, including supply and servicing depots for



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on civil disobedience
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photo: Austin Underwood

Old military iron lying about once fruitful farmland at Imber, Wiltshire, is being cleared away—now that the public is coming back in great numbers. These oxygen cylinders are used for breaking up tanks.

Cars, walkers, riders to invade Imber

By AUSTIN UNDERWOOD

D-DAY (D for Decision) in the peaceful battle for Imber is likely to be a week next Sunday, March 26. On that date the Association for the Restoration of Imber will drive four car convoys on highways into Imber, and walking parties will walk four main footpaths while a horse-riding party takes a bridle road and land-rovers travel one of the hard tracks into the village.

The War Department was notified of this intention in January. It replied: "It is not possible to give you permission to use the roads in the Range on the day in question, or enter the Range." The War Department intends, in fact, to carry out a demonstration of tank fire power for the Territorial Army on March 26.

The Association has now told the War Department that permission was not being sought, that the Association does not regard the War Department as being in a position either to give or refuse permission now that the Defence Regulations have ended. The driving, walking and riding parties will therefore be using the roads as planned.

Counsel's opinion has been taken on the interpretation of the Requisitioned Lands and War Works Act of 1945 to which the

War Department claims resource in order to allow them to continue the strictures they enjoyed under the Defence Regulations, and the Association advises that anyone who attempts to obstruct any rights of way on Sunday, March 26, will have to be very certain of their authority to do so.



On the date on which the Association are holding a Veteran Vehicle Rally in the village of Imber (May 14) they have been informed by the War Department that not only will the Territorial Army be using the area, but a Civil Defence Exercise will be taking place.

This, the Association states, can certainly not be considered to be "essential military training" for which Mr. Profumo claims Imber is needed, any more than could the regular hunts and game shoots which took place until the whole shabby story was revealed by the grand return of 2,000 people on January 22.

However, the Association have told the

War Department that their plans should not interfere with any Civil Defence Exercise or the Territorial Army, and if either of these units are in the village at the time they are invited to the Veteran Vehicle Revue to be held at 2.30 in the afternoon.

Meantime, the attitude of the War Department will no doubt encourage many more people to come to Imber on March 26 and the Association for the Restoration of Imber have appealed to motorists, walkers and riders to "turn up in their thousands."

The drives will begin on Imber roads from Gore Cross (main assembly), Bratton, Warminster and Heytesbury. Walks will be on footpaths from Erlestoke, West Lavington and Tilshead Lodge, where parking facilities for cars will be made. Details can be obtained from 4, Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts. (Tel.: Amesbury 3001).

A leaflet issued by the Association for the Restoration of Imber announces a full summer programme. This includes the National Veteran Car Rally on May 14, with the veteran cars themselves on "revue" in Imber, a Summer Solstice dawn pilgrimage from Stonehenge to Imber on June 21, and an Imber Midsummer Country Fair on June 25, at which S. P. B. Mais' All-England XI will challenge a mystery team (Guess who, says the leaflet).

Labour Party is very little different from the one that was defeated at Scarborough. Indeed, he declares that it is worse. And in this respect he is quite right.

Now Mr. Cousins' own statement is not a pacifist declaration—it would have been more logical if it had been. But it is a much more precise and clear attempt to state a policy for Labour than either the official document or the Crossman amendment to it.

For example, Mr. Cousins states quite clearly: "The provision of nuclear bases, including supply and servicing depots for Polaris submarines, is in opposition to our policy of reducing the dependence upon nuclear weapons, and cannot be supported."

CONFLICT

That is in direct conflict with the official statement, which says:

"It may well be that within a few years Western defence will not require America to have strategic bases overseas. Meanwhile, as a loyal member of the alliance, Britain cannot oppose on principle the establishment of allied bases on her territory. But she must remain free to decide according to the circumstances of the case whether or not any particular project should be accepted and under what conditions."

Note that the paragraph says nothing at all about Polaris. On this point Mr. Cousins is clear and precise, whereas the official Labour—TUC—Parliamentary Party draft is obscure and evasive. On principle the official document is not against the Polaris base in Scotland.

Mr. Gaitskell at Manchester strongly approved of Polaris as a weapon. He even claimed it was a safer weapon for the civilian population—though which civilian population he meant he did not explain.

Why has Mr. Gaitskell then carefully avoided mentioning Polaris in the draft statement which he wants the next Labour Party Conference to accept?

Surely the Polaris base at the Holy Loch is a "particular project" on which the Labour Party should clearly define its attitude? Is Mr. Gaitskell really against this "particular project" of basing Polaris on the Clyde or is he not?

We know that the leaders of the Labour Party at the time of the Macmillan announcement of the base asked for several

● ON BACK PAGE

CLASSIFIED

Advertisements for the Easter issue of Peace News (March 31) should reach our office by next Friday, March 24.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address Box No. replies: Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1. Please send advertisements by first post Monday.

MEETINGS

MEETING ROOMS AVAILABLE at Peace News offices, seat 10-40, very reasonable charges, refreshment facilities, piano. Apply The Warden, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

ETHICAL RELIGION AND THE ARTS, Charles Kennedy Scott, Conway Hall, Holborn, W.C.1. Tuesday, March 21, 7.15 p.m. Discussion.

A TALK ON the concept of Jerusalemite Catholicism will be given by Mr. George M. Gregory at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on Friday, March 24, at 7.30 p.m.

"INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY in the Modern World." Hear Bob Edwards, MP, at the annual meeting of the Society for Democratic Integration in Industry. Kenilworth Hotel, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1., Saturday, March 18. Coffee at 10.30 a.m.

RELAXATION—AND HOW TO ACHIEVE IT. Margaret Kent. Monday, March 20, Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society meets third Monday each month. Details: 85 Stoneleigh Rd., Ilford.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

BUDE, CORNWALL. Atlantic Guest House. Friendly, peaceful atmosphere in ideal surroundings. Well recommended. Special Music Weeks, early May. H. A. Lomax. Bude 447.

CORNWALL. West Haven Vegetarian Guest House, for quiet comfort, good food, magnificent sea views. Bathing, surfing and walking. Miss Amy Halliwell. Widemouth Bay 276.

COTSWOLDS: Coombe Lodge, Vegetarian Guest House, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. Owner: Kathleen Keleny.

FRINTON-ON-SEA. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House overlooking greensward and sea. Lilian and Aldo Vezza, Sandy Point, Esplanade. Tel.: 691. V.C.A.

GRASMERE, Westmorland. Come to Rothay Bank, a comfortable vegetarian Guest House in the heart of the lovely Lake District, for invigorating holidays or for rest and relaxation. 20 years reputation for good food in plenty. Proprietress: Isabel James. Brochure on request.

HASTINGS CENTRAL: Bed and Breakfast, Recuperation, Holidays. Page, (For), Cameron House, 16 Linton Crescent.

KESWICK: Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort and friendly atmosphere. Tel. 508 or write—Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lusby.

NEWQUAY. Corisande Guest House, open until Oct. Beautifully situated. Very reasonable terms. Illustrated brochure No. 4 free: Douglas Bishop, "Littlestone," Ashcombe Road, Dawlish. Tel.: Dawlish 2151.

NORFOLK BROADS District. Quiet village, excellent beach, relaxed informal holidays. Good food (vegtn. available), all comforts.—Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling (Hickling 236).

PAX HOUSE, offers you individual attention, comfort, vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. H. and C. Centrally situated, within easy reach of sea. 17 Melville Rd., Hove 2 (70945).

SNOWDONIA NATIONAL PARK. Vegetarian Guest House overlooking Cardigan Bay. Mountains, sea bathing and sands. Also furnished rooms, own kitchen. Trevor and Mary Jepson, Bracken-hurst, Fairbourne, Merioneth.

WELSH-SHROPSHIRE border, 25 acres delightful riverside grounds. Peace with comfort. Winifred and John Holland, Bryn Tanet Guest House, Llan-santffraid, Montgomeryshire. Brochure.

WEST CORNWALL. In old fishing village, Run

CRISIS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I AM writing before the decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers on South Africa is known, but the attitude of Nkrumah inside the Conference and of Nyerere outside has determined the eventual issue. South Africa will go and will not be invited back until apartheid ends.

This may become, as I have written before, a crisis for the Commonwealth itself. The British, Australian and New Zealand Governments won't like the change in the balance of power which is taking place. It is passing to the Asian and African nations. Nigeria, India, Malaya, Pakistan and Ceylon may have been ready to take a more moderate line, but now that the issue has become clear-cut there is no doubt on which side they will finally be.

Nyerere's pronouncement is of profound significance. Tanganyika will soon be a member of the Commonwealth, but his words count for much more than one country. They count for all East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar. They count for Nyasaland and the African majorities in the Rhodesias, who cannot long be denied.

INEVITABLE

Sierra Leone in West Africa will be independent before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet again. In less than two years the West Indies' Federation, dedicated in practice to racial equality, will be in the Commonwealth. Whatever decision is made immediately in London, it is certain that there can be no place in this association, with its overwhelming majority of non-White peoples, for a Government which makes racial segregation the commanding principle of its policy.

The repercussions of a decision to repudiate South Africa will be wide and deep in Britain. It will bring into the open the bursting division on the Government benches on the whole African issue.

At least one-third of the Tories in the House of Commons support the defiance by Lord Salisbury of Mr. Macleod's policy in Northern Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky is an observer at the Prime Ministers' Conference. He must realise that the tide of opinion on South Africa flows also White

mother, with small Comino protected between them.

They have been denied the elementary right of self-government and self-determination. For three years they have been ruled as a dictatorship under the British Governor with no Parliament.

The Government at Westminster has now accepted recommendations for its future made by a Commission headed by Sir Hilary Blood, the constitutional expert. These recommendations will not satisfy the people of Malta.

The Parliament would be reconstituted, but its authority will be limited and there is no promise of self-determination. The Governor will have the power to disallow decisions of Parliament on defence and external affairs, the police, broadcasting, the dockyard, and loans. The British Government will be able to supersede the Maltese Government in the event of "an emergency."

The limitation of the control of the police is particularly offensive. A conflict between the Governor and the Labour Prime Minister, Dom Mintoff, over the use of the police during a strike was largely responsible for the suspension of Parliament three years ago.

The Commission was boycotted by the leading parties because its terms of reference did not include self-determination. Its report is much coloured by the cliques of people it did meet. There is an extraordinary passage recording that many of its informants described Malta as a "police

state" under Dom Mintoff. The Commissioners add that they could not judge the truth of the allegation. A responsible Commission should not circulate in the body of its report an allegation which it cannot confirm and when it knows that those who make it have no representative authority in Malta.

The Commission and the Government insist that "the United Kingdom should be entitled to occupy and control such bases and military installations as it requires." This is the real reason why Malta is denied self-government and self-determination. But how can we pretend to believe in democracy if a people are to have no right to decide what foreign troops shall occupy their territory? Without the people of Malta having any say in the matter, they may be involved in a nuclear war which would make lifeless scattered rocks of their islands.

The democratic solution for Malta is an elected Parliament, a constitution embodying a Declaration of Human Rights, unrestricted self-government, with the right of self-determination, politically, economically, militarily.

History is on the side of the Maltese people as it is on the side of the peoples of South Africa, the Rhodesias, wherever human dignity is denied. They must decide their course of action, conscious that the creative influence of our time throughout the world will be with them in determining their progress and their future.

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DIARY

Thursday, March 23

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Bush Rd. Kay Wheeler, "The Children I Have Taught." E.10-E.11 PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns. (Flat 7). A Jewish Pacifist in Israel. Myrtle Solomon. PPU.

Friday, March 24

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. George M. Gregory: "Jerusalemite Catholicism."

NORTHAMPTON: Carnegie Hall. "Let Britain Lead with Nuclear Disarmament." Roy Hewitt, Prosp. Independent Con. Candidate.

WOODFORD, Essex: 8 p.m. St. Barnabas Church Hall, Snakes La., Polaris Protest mtg. Prof.

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 17

EXMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. The Sailor's Rest, St. Andrews Rd. "Should We Ban the Bomb?" Sir R. Acland, Norman Stevens, J.P. Peace Movement.

Saturday, March 18

write—Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lusby.
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WEST CORNWALL. In old fishing village. Run by artist and family. Boat available. Food home cooked including bread. 7 gns. Lambourn, Mouse-hole. Tel.: Mousehole 236.

CARAVAN SITES
CORNWALL. Lamorna Cove. Large 2-berth gipsy caravan alone beautiful secluded site. Interior-sprung mattress, gas fire, lights, cooking. Room for tent. 4-5 guineas weekly. Gibbs, Lamorna, Pen-zance.

PERSONAL
ATTENTION ABSTAINERS. Motor Insurance Company insuring abstainers only offer amazingly low rates. Up to 50 per cent N.C.B. Details from Temperance Brokers, local representatives in all areas. Morris Hunter (PN), 33 Victoria Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.

DUPLICATING, verbatim shorthand, typing (tapes, etc.), translating. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beacons-field Road, London, N.11. ENTERprise 3324.

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op., please give this number when making your next purchase: 1336943. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

MARRIED COUPLE (boy 7), tired and exhausted after three years looking after maladjusted children, seek other occupation. Business partnership or community living considered. Box No. 880.

NOW AVAILABLE on 16mm. Sound. The Polaroid Action Film (USA) 10 minutes. 12s. 6d. Concord Film Council, 154 Corby St., N.4. ARC 7200.

PEACE NEWS and **HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP** welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

THE WORLD LEAGUE Against Vivisection and for the Protection of all Animals opposes all cruelty and violence. Details from: 5 North View, S.W.19.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

LITERATURE
CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s. 9d., 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT
EXPERIENCED BOOK-KEEPER take full responsibility for accounts in busy publishing office with varied activities. Interesting opportunity service for peace. Write Manager, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

PERSONAL SECRETARY/SHORTHAND TYPIST required for the General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organisation of Christian Pacifists working for peace. Pleasant, interesting and progressive position for young lady willing to take responsibility. Write to General Secretary, FoR, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

tion, with its overwhelming majority of non-White peoples, for a Government which makes racial segregation the commanding principle of its policy.

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The triumph of racial equality is inevitable. No power on earth can keep back the recognition that the human personality of all men and women makes insignificant and irrelevant the pigment of their skin. No Government which denies this belongs to the evolution of the human race.

Meanwhile, let us look at three islands north of Africa, surrounded by the blue Mediterranean, where these issues of human equality and liberty are now being decided. Looking down from the air one fancies them as a family—Malta, father, Gozo,

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Saturday, March 18
BRADFORD: 2.30 p.m. Randall Well St. (behind Alexandra Hotel). Poster Parade CND.
KINGSTON: 1.30 p.m. Fairfield. March via Teddington, Twickenham, Richmond. CND local groups.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2.45 p.m. Poster Parade, Ayr St. (behind Swan and Edgar), Piccadilly. CND.
LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m. Hall of Artworkers Guild, 6 Queen Sq. AGM of IVS.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m. 103 Gower St. Briefing mtg. for "Sea" demonstrators at Holy Loch. Direct Action.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Briefing mtg. for marchers. Direct Action.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., Endsleigh St. Margaret Flint, "Creed of a Truth-seeker." Visitors welcome. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

LOUGHBOROUGH (Leics): 3.30 p.m. Quest Ho. North and East Area PPU AGM. Harold and Elizabeth Bing speak on visit to India.

WEST CROYDON: 8 p.m. Star Hotel, Jazz Band Ball. CND.

Sunday, March 19
EWELL, Surrey: 3 p.m. 17 Park Av. East. AGM Surrey PPU.

LEEDS: 3 p.m. Church Ho., Albion Pl. 3rd Northern Conf. Policy, Organisation, Progress. All welcome. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., "Asian Music," Ayana Deva Angadi. SoF.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 12 noon. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways. Area Mtg. PPU.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 2.30 p.m. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways. Open Mtg. Eileen Fletcher, The Pacifist Fortnight Campaign.

Monday, March 20
BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mr. Burndett: "Spiritualism and Pacifism." PPU.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Queens Rd. Manufacture banner, discuss DAC march. YCND.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. Mtg. in memory of Sharpeville Massacre. Speaker: Dr. Dadoo. Adm. Is. Anti-Apartheid Movement.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. (Refreshments 6 p.m.). 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. "Steps to Peace" series. "What Price the AGM?" Central London PPU.

Tuesday, March 21
BRADFORD: 7.45 p.m. Church Ho. Rev. Frank Thewlis. "Why I am not a Pacifist." PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Kay Wheeler, "Children I Have Taught." E.10 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. The Central Hall, Westminster. President Nkrumah speaks on "Africa and World Peace." Tickets (Reserved 5s. and 2s. 6d., Unreserved 1s. 6d.) from Christian Action, 2 Amen Crt., E.C.4.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. Conway Hall, Holborn. Charles Kennedy Scott. "Ethical Religion and the Arts." Discussion.

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WOODFORD, Essex: 8 p.m. St. Barnabas Church Hall, Snakes La., Polaris Protest mtg. Prof. E. H. S. Burhop; David Elliot, YCND; Film: "Deadly the Harvest." Adm. free. Woodford and Dis. Peace Committee.

Saturday, March 25
BRISTOL: 3 p.m. St. Michael's Church Hall, Bishopston. Jumble Sale for Pacifist Fortnight Campaign. PPU.

BROMLEY, Kent: 10 a.m. Depart High St. on protest march to Elephant and Castle. Public Mtg. 5 p.m. YCND.

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Conf. to discuss proposal for new peace movement for total unilateral disarmament and positive peace-making. Toldas Group.

SOUTHEND: 3 p.m. Poster parade; meet Royal Tce. (Top Pier Hill). Parade CND & YCND.

Sunday, March 26
IMBER, Wilts.: Gore Cross, nr. West Lavington. Nearest town Devizes. Drive, walk or ride over the rights of way. Four convoys. Details: Austin Underwood, 4 Earls Rd., Amesbury. Tel.: Amesbury 3001.

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., Rev. Wm. Piggott: "A New Vision of the Universe." Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

TOWTEN, Yorks.: 2.30 p.m., near Tadcaster. Anti-war demonstration. Details from Len and Hilda Gibson, Stapleton, Pontefract. (Wentbridge 381.) PPU.

Tuesday, March 28
BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m. International Centre, John Bright St., AGM West Mid. Area PPU.

Wednesday, March 29
GUILDFORD: 7.30 p.m. Coyle Hall, St. Luke's Hosp. Concert in aid of Gen. and Overseas Fund IVS.

Thursday, March 30
LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Group Discussion. E.10-E.11 PPU.

Monday, April 3-Friday, April 7
LONDON, N.6: Evening April 3, Syskon College, Highgate. Conference of FoR "Power for Peace" until evening April 7. Brochures and booking forms from FoR, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.

Saturday-Sunday, April 15-16
SOUTHPORT: 5 p.m. Sat. to 5 p.m. Sun., Fernbank Guest Ho., 16 Talbot St. Speaker: J. Allen Skinner. 25s. Bookings: Llew Lloyd, 25 Derwent Av., Prescot. PPU.

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## Every week!

**SATURDAYS**  
**LONDON, W.11:** Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

**SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS**  
**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

**THURSDAYS**  
**LONDON, E.11:** 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.



# CNVA WALKERS NOW NEARING ST LOUIS

THE transcontinental peace walkers entered the State of Missouri a week ago. The walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action, have covered over 2,000 miles since leaving San Francisco on December 1, proclaiming that the threat or use of force cannot resolve international conflict.

They hope to bring the same message to Communist peoples if they are allowed to enter Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union this summer. While in Europe, members of the group will be pledged in principle to cross national boundaries openly but illegally if normal entry is denied.

The walkers, all pacifists ranging in age from 18 to 56, advocate that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. disarm unilaterally to prevent war. They urge the people of all nations to "stop co-operating with morally bankrupt military policies" before those policies result in nuclear holocaust. To emphasize their message, the group announced it would picket war plants and military installations "all the way to Moscow". In addition they hold public meetings and rely on personal contact with local residents.

The pacifists plan to spend ten days walking across Missouri, arriving in St. Louis next Monday. They expect to arrive in Chicago on March 30, completing the 3,000-mile first phase of the journey. From there the Walk will pass through Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey, reaching New York in June. The team will be transported across the Atlantic and resume walking through

Europe from London. The entire 6,500 mile trip is expected to take about 11 months.

The rigours of walking across deserts and through mountain passes have limited membership during the first phase to about 16 persons. Others have joined but are not sponsored by CNVA. Mass participation will be encouraged from Chicago. The group already has walked in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas, often receiving accommodation and hospitality from churches and sympathetic individuals along the route.

## Atlanta's formula for sit-in truce

THE Atlanta (Georgia) Chamber of Commerce have announced an agreement between Negro leaders and business men on a formula for the desegregation of lunch counters and other store facilities.

The *New York Times* reports: "In return for an immediate end to sit-ins and other boycotts, the stores agreed to end discrimination at the time of desegregation of local schools, expected in the Autumn."

Public schools are under Federal Court order to put into effect a desegregation plan for the eleventh and twelfth grades in time for school openings in the Autumn.

The major stores have agreed to follow the pattern of the final decision in the schools case, and Negro leaders have agreed to make "every effort" to end sit-ins, picketing and boycotts. The stores, whose lunch counters and dining facilities have been closed for three months, are now due to reopen on a segregated basis pending the outcome of the schools issue.

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Two of the transcontinental peace walkers at an early stage, in California.

## S.W. Africa visit not facilitated

THE nine-member United Nations Committee on South West Africa has reported officially to the General Assembly on the refusal of the Union of South Africa to facilitate a visit by the committee to the territory of South West Africa to investigate conditions.

The Committee says it "profoundly regrets this further evidence of the continued refusal of the Union Government to co-operate with the Committee in the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly." The report is submitted for the Assembly's consideration "so that the Committee may be guided accordingly."

Before adopting the report, the Committee agreed without a vote to delete from the draft a sentence stating that the attitude of the Union Government had "prevented" it from carrying out the Assembly's request. The report to the Assembly contains no mention of a suggestion made in an earlier

By Sybil Morrison

## A Human Tragedy

Winston saw it all like a demonstration, and was as happy as the proverbial sandboy.—Field-Marshal Alexander, *The Sunday Times*, March 12.

I MAKE no apology for referring again to Field-Marshal Alexander's articles which are appearing weekly in *The Sunday Times*: they reveal a mentality which, unfortunately, is still part of the equipment of military and other leaders of nations today, even though the weapons of war are entirely different.

The "demonstration" that Winston Churchill saw, and was so thrilled to see, was the terrible struggle in Italy in 1944, where casualties in the Eighth Army alone were 14,000 and 210 tanks were a total loss; it had taken 26 days to advance 30 miles, and the formidable Apennine ranges still stood between the Allied armies and their objectives.

Winston Churchill was a brave man; he appeared to be fearless in regard to his own safety driving in a jeep over land that had not been swept for mines, and was in fact swept by shells and bullets. Once safely arrived at a farmhouse overlooking the valley where the battle raged, he was "as happy as the proverbial sandboy."

His courage is not in dispute; it is his lack of imagination that is terrifying. This is not the only account that has been given of his exploits when such phrases to describe his enjoyment have been used. The noise of the machine guns' tat-tat-tat-tat did not convey to him the bullets smashing into flesh and bone; the shrieking shells did not mean to him the disruption of human bodies; the charging tanks did not reveal to him the trapped men burning alive in their metal tombs; to him it was a demonstration of a military manoeuvre, and he was happy.

## BLACK AND WHITE

A NERVOUS lady asked the driver of a No. 2 bus at Victoria if it went to Swiss Cottage, and he assured her that it did. Not satisfied, she repeated her question to the conductor who happened to be a West Indian. "Yes, lady," was his smiling reply, "it does, and now you have it in black and white."

Unfortunately, there is not always such happy agreement between black and white, and one form of war is the discrimination which too often exists between the different races. The Peace Pledge Union is on record as condemning apartheid and in seeking means for positive reconciliation. The PPU is also on record as condemning war of



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Unfortunately, there is not always such happy agreement between black and white, and one form of war is the discrimination which too often exists between the different races. The Peace Pledge Union is on record as condemning apartheid and in seeking means for positive reconciliation. The PPU is also on record as condemning war of every kind and in seeking to secure a warless world through total unilateral disarmament. You have in black and white exactly the destination of the PPU and the road by which it seeks to get there. You also have in black and white every fortnight the aim of the PPU Headquarters Fund for the year and the amount received to date. You help to decide that total by letting us have in black and white the amount you can afford to send to help the work of the PPU. If you are going down any other road, are you quite certain that it will take you to the end you desire? If not, why not join the PPU and get on the total unilateral disarmament bus?

This appeal is addressed especially to those who, though certain of where they want to go, have to be passengers in the bus for one reason or another. If you think we are going in the right direction and by the right road, please help by paying your fare through a contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our special aim for 1961 to help with  
the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign: £1,750

Amount received to date: £125

An increase since last time of £36.

*Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.*

"I renounce war and I will never  
support or sanction another"

*This pledge, signed by each member, is  
the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send your pledge to PPU Headquarters*

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

of discrimination at the time of desegregation of local schools, expected in the Autumn."

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Mr. A. T. Walden, a Negro lawyer who served as a special negotiator, said that the setting of a time factor was understood. Chamber of Commerce spokesmen said that the agreement assures a calmer mood for school integration.

## READY FOR SCEPTICS

MR. SARGENT SHRIVER, head of America's new Peace Corps, has advised President Kennedy that "no matter how well conceived and efficiently run, there probably will be failures. These could be costly and have a serious effect both at home and abroad."

But according to the Washington correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Shriver will see that Corps members who get into trouble abroad, or give the wrong impression, are sent home "before their failure unduly damages them and their programme."

Mr. Shriver is also aware that: "a certain scepticism about the coming of Americans is to be expected in many quarters, and the welcome to the corps members will vary."

Interviewed on television by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, President Kennedy paid tribute to "remarkable work" done by British groups in this field. He agreed with Mrs. Roosevelt that dedicated married couples who were unable to serve abroad could work in American slums and depressed areas.

## AN APOLOGY

We regret that in our report last week of the CND march in Dunoon, Oliver Brown, the Scottish Nationalist, was referred to as "the Scottish naturalist." We apologise for this error in transmission.

of the committee to the committee of South West Africa to investigate conditions.

The Committee says it "profoundly regrets this further evidence of the continued refusal of the Union Government to co-operate with the Committee in the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly." The report is submitted for the Assembly's consideration "so that the Committee may be guided accordingly."

Before adopting the report, the Committee agreed without a vote to delete from the draft a sentence stating that the attitude of the Union Government had "prevented" it from carrying out the Assembly's request. The report to the Assembly contains no mention of a suggestion made in an earlier meeting of the Committee that if the body were unable to visit South West Africa it might go to other parts of Africa to make whatever investigations were possible.

In declining to grant facilities for the Committee's visit, the South African Government argued that since the question of South West Africa was now before the International Court of Justice, it was therefore "sub judice" and could neither be discussed nor acted upon in any way. The matter was placed before the Court by Ethiopia and Liberia last November, and in December the Assembly adopted a resolution commending the two nations for "their initiative".

## GOOD QUAKER CAUSE

GERALD GARDINER, Q.C., will appeal this Sunday, March 19, in the BBC Home Service, on behalf of the Friends Service Council, the Quaker organisation which undertakes relief work in many parts of the world.

The Council's present programme, which costs about £55,000 a year to maintain, includes rehabilitation work among refugees in Morocco, Austria, Germany and Paris, and practical help for refugees and others.

## HAMPSTEAD KEEPS US OUT

HAMPSTEAD'S five public libraries are not to have *Peace News* in their reading rooms. A motion by Councillor Roy Shaw, calling on the libraries committee to reconsider its decision, was defeated.

The *Hampstead and Highgate Express* reports the libraries committee chairman as saying: "the libraries cannot be considered as a depository for propaganda". Councillor Shaw argued that on this ruling the *Christian Science Monitor* should also be excluded.

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★

It is this kind of mentality that makes wars possible; it is this kind of unimaginative courage that refuses to see the uselessness of the carnage; it is this kind of ruthless planning that sees nothing in the wholesale slaughter of Hiroshima but the chance to win a victory.

The habit of war is so ingrained in the minds of men and women that it does not occur to them that it is possible to resist the habit; it does not enter into their thoughts that the habit is a bad one, and not only should, but could, be discarded.

There are always exciting tales to hear, and read, and tell, of gallantry and self-sacrifice in battle; there are always victories to boast of, and great deeds to acclaim. The tragedies, the mutilations, the deaths and bereavements are incidental to the glory and the glamour. Popular thought is in line with this conception of war, and it is generally accepted that whatever the cost the enemy must be repelled, and that "it is better to die fighting" than live the rest of life under foreign domination.

These rolling phrases are, in fact, only words; some may die fighting, but in modern war the people who die are not fighting but cowering in their basements and cellars, and moreover large numbers of people who fought in the last war are in fact living now under foreign rule; it is very doubtful if all the Germans in East Germany would reply to such a question, that they would rather be dead; most people would choose life rather than death however dire the disaster.

To persuade people that it is equally, if not more courageous to refuse to kill others than to die; that it is braver to accept foreign domination than to use the terrible weapons of modern war is not easy. Nevertheless, to the "common man" war is not a demonstration of military valour, but a human tragedy, and in the end his heart may be touched and his mind may be changed; upon that change the peace of the world depends.



# Fellow-travelling with apartheid?

By ROY SHERWOOD

IT seems hard to believe that Mr. Macmillan should ever have thought that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference could be got through without a whale of a row over South Africa. Yet this is precisely what most political commentators—though some of them probably with their tongues in their cheeks—declared him to be hoping for as late as towards the end of last week.

As we now know, the row came on Monday with the first mention of Dr. Verwoerd's wish to remain in the Commonwealth, as soon as the conference had finished with simple preliminaries. Even if Mr. Macmillan were supposed to be so innocent in essential matters, and so self-confident in questions of niggling detail, as to have believed that he could succeed in forcing the conference to keep the two issues of South Africa's racial policies and her desire for continued membership of the British Commonwealth in separate watertight compartments, his personal conversations with the various Commonwealth Premiers at the week-end must have convinced him that this would be "no go."

It is of course wrong for a professed paci-

fist to welcome a flaring row between statesmen instead of calm, cool and courteous discussion, but I for one would rather be faulty in my pacifism than a fellow-traveller with *apartheid*. I am delighted at the head-on clash.

Even now it is still not impossible that a compromise may be the eventual outcome, taking the form suggested by Mr. Macmillan of condemnation of, or at least emphatic disassociation from, *apartheid*, while not going to the length of an outright declaration that South Africa is unfit for Commonwealth membership.

★

At the time these lines are written the latest reports of the conference proceedings still present this kind of solution as a possibility, and there is, of course, practically no limit to the ingenuity of which conference chairmen are capable in producing resolutions or decisions which cover up points of vital dissension. This is the kind of thing Mr. Macmillan is more likely to have hoped for, in common with a great number of other people who also want South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth.

At first sight there is a plausible case for this attitude. To begin with, the exclusion of South Africa can mean deep dis-

couragement for all those living there who are opposed to *apartheid*; next, as long as South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth, it must be harder for her to run counter to all it stands for, so that expulsion can be looked upon as liberating her from an implied obligation.

Thirdly, nothing in Commonwealth relationships confers any right on any one or a number of other members to interfere in the internal affairs of any other. Last but not least, there is this question: Will not the departure of even one member, whether by voluntary resignation or by expulsion, become the first step towards eventual break-up?

Looked at more closely, what do these points of argument amount to? The opponents within the Union to Dr. Verwoerd's racial policies are quite as likely to be stirred into greater and more determined activity as to be depressed into acquiescence if their country is stigmatised as unfit to belong to an association of free and progressive peoples of different colours of skin.

The point about implied obligation is devoid of any value. If South Africa paid the least attention to that implied obligation, she could neither have acted up to the present as she has done, nor blandly announce now that she intends to push steadily ahead with her *apartheid*

legislation as the only just and wise way of ruling a multi-racial state.

Next, the question whether the internal affairs of any member of the Commonwealth may be interfered with in any circumstances. Here the answer is less simple. Active interference is self-evidently impermissible. But is it interference to say that someone whose daily conduct and long-term aims are inconsistent with those of all the people with whom he wishes to remain associated, can be told that he must alter his ways if he means the association to continue—or get out? If this is interference it is, at its highest, of so defensive a kind that, in comparison with it, the "misfit's" wish for association becomes thick-skinned intrusion.

There remains the point that the departure of even one member may herald the eventual break-up of the whole Commonwealth. It is unlikely to do so within foreseeable time, though the possibility must not be excluded. On the other hand, the Commonwealth may also be held to gain in strength by purification.

★

Whether well-founded or not, the arguments in favour of continued membership of South Africa in the Commonwealth belong to the order of expediency. They would rank high in value if the Commonwealth were a profit-seeking Trade Association. The old British Empire may have borne a close resemblance to that conception, but to-day's British Commonwealth claims to be a voluntary association of free peoples animated by respect for human rights; and, by its very multi-racial composition, our time's best representative of all opposition to intolerance and any form of enslavement.

Unless every objective-minded man or woman anywhere in the world, irrespective of whether in the East or West, is to reject this claim as sheer hypocrisy, the Commonwealth cannot afford to have an *apartheid*-pursuing country among its members. You cannot spit on the principles you profess and remain an honest man. Fellow-travelling with *apartheid* will not strengthen the British Com-

## Kenyatta vilified

"A MAJOR block to rational action over Kenya is the denunciation of the man over the last nine years," writes Clyde Sanger from Nairobi in *The Guardian*.

"He is commonly referred to in newspapers as 'the manager of Mau Mau' . . . Yet evidence to support this vilification is extremely scanty. Before Kenyatta was arrested in October, 1952, there was no connection proved between his movements and anyone taking more than the first oath—a political oath to support Kenyatta's Kenya African Union . . . there is no evidence to show that Kenyatta had planned that if he were arrested his followers should take a depraved course.

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

### No school for them

FIVE THOUSAND Indian and Eskimo children in the USA are not in school because there are no school facilities for them.

This was announced by President Kennedy at a press conference on March 8. The President has instructed the Secretary of the Interior to submit to Congress without delay plans to correct the situation.

The children live on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico in Alaska

that Glasgow's political complexion . . . might unsettle the more delicate visitors. But now he was reassured. 'Why, the Scots of Glasgow are the friendliest people in the world,' he said earnestly.

'Glaswegians acknowledge this tribute matter-of-factly, declaring that western Scots have a capacity for good will and amiability far greater than that of their countrymen in the east.'

### Kennedy's suspects

ALBANIA and China have begun a



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"Ex-detainees, in recent statements, assert strongly that the seven bestial oaths were evolved in the forests in the bitterness of fighting, and partly as a result of learning of some of the atrocities committed by members of the Kenya Regiment.

"Kenyatta's implication in any of the early murders such as that of Senior Chief Waruhiu has never been established; and the Chief's two sons have publicly supported the demand for Kenyatta's immediate release."

### Holy Loch safety

THERE is no possibility of an accidental atomic explosion at the Holy Loch, and the danger of radio-activity being released is very remote. But in the remote event of an accident, people on the Loch shore opposite the explosion would be evacuated for 24 hours, and exposed food or liquid within a half-mile radius would be considered unfit for human consumption, as would milk produced within a five-mile radius.

These points are made in the "Clyde Public Safety Scheme," now in the hands of the local authorities of the area.

A . . . calm and objective study—THE OBSERVER.

## RACE RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

by Vernon Waughray • Foreword by Rev. Clifford Hill

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## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

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The children live on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico, in Alaska, and the Choctaw Reservation in Mississippi. In addition, other thousands are housed in overcrowded and obsolete boarding facilities, some hazardous to their health and safety.

### 'In Scotland before ye'

"SCOTTISH smiles warm Americans" is a *New York Times* headline over a report from Walter H. Waggoner concerning the Proteus sailors in Scotland.

"To several Americans who have recently encountered them," Mr. Waggoner writes, "the Scots have seemed exceptionally friendly and willing to be helpful to strangers. Moreover, they seem eager to prove how much friendlier they are than the English.

"When someone remarked recently that the people of the British Isles seemed to get friendlier the farther north one travelled, a hotel porter remarked: 'Aye, and the Londoners are the worst of the lot.'

"An authority of the Scottish Tourist Board in Edinburgh had seemed worried

that Glasgow's political complexion . . . might unsettle the more delicate visitors. But now he was reassured. 'Why, the Scots of Glasgow are the friendliest people in the world,' he said earnestly.

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### Kennedy's suspects

ALBANIA and China have begun a chorus of scorn over President Kennedy's Peace Corps proposals, a chorus soon joined by other Communist-bloc countries.

"Professional spies," "agents of imperialist subversion," and "instruments of the Central Intelligence Agency," are some of their advance descriptions of Peace Corps workers.

Radio Sofia has made sarcastic reference to America's own unemployment and racial problems, and suggested that she should put her own house in order.

East Germany suspects that West Germany's intention to set up a Peace Corps is only to "safeguard the influence and the rule of West German monopolies."



Remembering Sharpeville, and the Africans shot dead on March 21 last year, a silent march will take place on Sunday in London, beginning from Marble Arch at 2 p.m. A meeting in Trafalgar Square will follow at 3 p.m. The Anti-Apartheid Movement, organisers of the march and rally, especially ask that only official banners be used on the march.

Cine workers of the Association of Cinematograph, Television, and Allied Technicians, at their annual conference last Sunday, passed by 65 votes to 12 a resolution supporting the decisions of the Labour Party conference at Scarborough last year in deciding that Britain must renounce nuclear weapons and insist on the removal of all American bomber and Polaris bases.

Denmark cannot afford Britain's Blue Streak rocket project while other perfected rocket types are available. This was stated in Copenhagen by Dr. Neergaard, chairman of a Government scientific committee examining satellite programmes.

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Unless every objective-minded man or woman anywhere in the world, irrespective of whether in the East or West, is to reject this claim as sheer hypocrisy, the Commonwealth cannot afford to have an apartheid-pursuing country among its members. You cannot spit on the principles you profess and remain an honest man. Fellow-travelling with apartheid will not strengthen the British Commonwealth. It will weaken it because no consideration of expediency can make up for the loss of honesty.

Christopher Farley will resume his regular column on this page next week.

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# TV DRAMA AND THE BOMB

PEACE NEWS, March 17, 1961—5

By Jack Shepherd

ARDEN WINCH'S television play "The Poisoned Earth" (ATV, February 28), is likely to have displeased some nuclear disarmers because it shows a protest group failing to rise to its principles.

It could with truth be said that in real life at least four of the five people in the group would never have been chosen to represent a nation-wide movement "pledged to non-violence", just as it would, alas, be true to say that no scientist is ever likely to act as Brockmeyer did.

But let's face it. There are such people in the peace movement, just as there are elements of their varying motives in all of us. Critical scrutiny in a mirror can never do any harm, and this mirror, I think, was an honest one.

Is it not true that the peace movement is beyond politics (both national and domestic), beyond art, and beyond humanitarianism? And that as long as politicians insist on pushing things into a political frame, artists subordinating a movement to their art, and humanitarians go on thinking only in terms of human weal, just so long will a candle be held to the Devil?

The parson realised this, and could not associate himself with the group's expediency deal with the Security Officer, and all he could do was stay behind and pray. That was something, but not enough. It is the Church's dilemma.

The scientist appeared to save the situation for integrity, but only after a lifetime spent worshipping knowledge and ignoring the attendant horror. He makes his atonement only after learning that his own son

was sacrificed horribly for the cult of Nazi knowledge. The girl was horrified when she suddenly realises that she had been seeing herself as a kind of Joan of Arc without the stake, but she is not ready for the stake.

Only the town drunk, Charlie, recently saved and converted, preserved a kind of integrity. Refused even the distinction of being carried away by the police, he delivers an impromptu sermon and hymn to the moron-faced guards with their tommy-guns. It should have been ludicrous, but it had a dignity that was moving.

The danger of this kind of play, one might say, is that it might give the public mind an image of disarmament campaigners as being wholly immoral and ineffective. As to that, the public can read the newspapers and judge for itself. It would be even more dangerous for campaigners to imagine themselves infallible.

The play as a whole was a passionate indictment of the poisonous and corroding effects of nuclear diplomacy, and if this impact reached the public mind, the campaign is being served.

Perhaps one of the most significant lines came from the jaded Security Officer ("responsible only to people who are responsible to no one") after four-fifths of the protest group had accepted his terms. "Tragic," he sighed. "There's no one you can believe in nowadays". Campaigners will have to deserve that belief.

## 'Civil Defence'

- by Russell

GOVERNMENTS are not sentencing all their people to death in nuclear war, but are preparing to show mercy to a selected percentage. This, according to Bertrand Russell, is the logic of Civil Defence.

Speaking at Birmingham last week-end, Earl Russell suggested that to avoid nuclear disaster we need the abandonment of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, a lessening of East-West tension, a world-wide authority with power to arbitrate on disputes, and the realisation that war had become an insanity which could not secure anything that any belligerent could desire.

He put forward the following four main

## We refuse 'freedom'

By MICHAEL SCOTT

TO me civil disobedience is simply an affirmation of faith and a means of repudiating policies one strongly disapproves. It may be said "You have the vote. You are free to speak and write and persuade others if you can to accept your views. If you cannot you should accept the views of the majority. That is democracy."

But the fact that I am free to disapprove does not alter the fact that I consider a given policy disastrous and morally wrong and that I firmly believe in another policy to be right and necessary for my country.

Freedom, we believe, is the birthright of everyone; it is not a favour conferred by the State as a reward for acquiescence in its policies. We cannot therefore accept the position that we can only be free if we support a policy which requires us to be party to mass murder as its ultimate sanction.

## The price

We say that we would prefer not to accept freedom than enjoy it at the price of becoming the instrument of such a policy. If that is the condition of enjoying freedom we say we will forego freedom. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Our protest though is not a violent one. On the contrary, it is an appeal to the conscience and intelligence of our fellow citizens. It is not a substitute for reasoned argument. On the contrary, the action is itself an argument, a plea for consistency.

The modern State possesses all the power it needs to coerce its citizens. But there are still values which cannot be coerced into its service or be misappropriated. These values, like the integrity of the individual person, are more enduring than life itself and society will only violate them at its peril.

## Lawlessness

It is going rather far to equate this action of ours with the lawlessness of those anti-

## Letters to the Editor

### Labour's 'new' document

From Frank Allaun, MP.

TONY GREENWOOD is right. The various compromise arms policies having been turned down, trade unions and Labour Parties should now re-assert the policy carried at the Scarborough conference—that is the AEU and Transport Workers' resolutions.

The "new" document is a deliberate attempt to reverse those decisions, and some of the compromises give away far too much. What's the good of saying we want to end the need for American bases in Britain? Even Macmillan might support that. No, we want to end the bases themselves. Additional documents merely fog the issue.

Let us stick to last year's decisions that Britain should give the lead to end the H-bomb race. All the evidence shows they will be carried by a far bigger majority this year.

I am stating the view of the Labour Peace Fellowship executive, of which I am Vice-Chairman.—FRANK ALLAUN, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

Quaker leader, lecturer, world traveller and author.

This institute will be held June 23 to 30 at Sunnybrook Camp, in Echo Lake, Pennsylvania. Registrations are limited to 150 people. For information, please get in touch with the AFSC office, 237 Third Avenue, New York 3, N.Y. (GRamercy 3-5998).—ROBERT GILMORE, Secretary.

### Noisy Aldermaston?

LIKE all members of CND, I am looking forward to the Aldermaston, Wethersfield march; I hope it will be what "Marty" might call "a really big affair."

But may I beg some of the noisier elements to leave their sectional enthusiasms behind? We believe that our sense of relative values is sound. We are for humanity and against evil; an over-riding issue if ever there was one. I personally felt very sad and embarrassed on February 18 at having to walk all the way down Oxford Street behind a group of people whose main preoccupation was Mr. Gaitskell. May I remind them that our job is persuasion ("join the march and raise your voice!") and perhaps Gaitskell and his followers should be easier to persuade than half our fellow



attempt to reverse those decisions, and some of the compromises give away far too much. What's the good of saying we want to end the need for American bases in Britain? Even Macmillan might support that. No, we want to end the bases themselves. Additional documents merely fog the issue.

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## New directions

IT is rare these days that concerned people have the opportunity to sit down together and spend a full week in discussing the directions in which we are going, and to approach international issues in an atmosphere of truth.

Your readers may be interested to know that such a week is being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. The theme will be "Search for New Directions." For six days, people of all ages, backgrounds, and convictions will get together in a spirit of friendship and intellectual search. In small discussion groups each morning, stimulated but not limited by the contributions of people with special experience in a variety of fields, they will share their thinking on crucial issues.

Resource people will include Eleanor Roosevelt; Norman Thomas; I. F. Stone; A. J. Muste; Elizabeth Gray Vining; Anna Brinton, Quaker leader and member of the Board of Directors of AFSC; Richard Gregg, author of *The Power of Non-violence*; Stewart Meacham, national Peace Secretary of AFSC; Norman Whitney,

forward to the Aldermaston, Wethersfield march; I hope it will be what "Marty" might call "a really big affair."

But may I beg some of the noisier elements to leave their sectional enthusiasms behind? We believe that our sense of relative values is sound. We are for humanity and against evil; an over-riding issue if ever there was one. I personally felt very sad and embarrassed on February 18 at having to walk all the way down Oxford Street behind a group of people whose main preoccupation was Mr. Gaitskell. May I remind them that our job is persuasion ("join the march and raise your voice!") and perhaps Gaitskell and his followers should be easier to persuade than half our fellow citizens. If I had been an onlooker on that occasion (which heaven forbid!) I think I would have found my hackles rising.

Let us be *pro* something good and vital rather than *anti* anything. For our demonstration to make its greatest impact (on ourselves as well as on the country at large) I think our Easter days should be spent in quietness and dignity.—**BARBARA M. BROWN, 82 Kemble House, Barrington Road, London, S.W.9.**

## COs' reunion

MAY I, on behalf of the North-Eastern Regional Board for Conscientious Objectors, draw the attention of your readers to the fact that on April 22 there is to be held in Leeds at the Friends' Meeting House a Grand Final Reunion.

The Regional Board extends to all COs (past and present) whatever their designation—unconditional, conditional, NCC or otherwise—a hearty invitation to be present on this occasion, when we shall have with us Fenner Brockway, MP, who, as many will already know, has been Chairman of the Central Board from its inception.—**EDWARD BRAY, Regional Secretary, 20 Westfield Avenue, Oakes, Huddersfield.**

all their people to death in nuclear war, but are preparing to show mercy to a selected percentage. This, according to Bertrand Russell, is the logic of Civil Defence.

Speaking at Birmingham last week-end, Earl Russell suggested that to avoid nuclear disaster we need the abandonment of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, a lessening of East-West tension, a world-wide authority with power to arbitrate on disputes, and the realisation that war had become an insanity which could not secure anything that any belligerent could desire.

He put forward the following four main reasons for a unilateralist attitude:

- The plan, being pursued, of conferences between NATO powers and Warsaw Pact powers was unworkable, since neither side, for prestige sake, would be able to make concessions. Britain could be the leader of a group of neutrals inspired by the wish for peace.

- Even if it were true that a nuclear weapon protected us, it would still be abominable to depend on such protection.

- Reliance on America made us less safe.

- Britain added nothing to the strength of America by its alliance. On the contrary, it merely saddled America with an obligation to defend Britain.

On the contrary, it is an appeal to the conscience and intelligence of our fellow citizens. It is not a substitute for reasoned argument. On the contrary, the action is itself an argument, a plea for consistency.

The modern State possesses all the power it needs to coerce its citizens. But there are still values which cannot be coerced into its service or be misappropriated. These values, like the integrity of the individual person, are more enduring than life itself and society will only violate them at its peril.

## Lawlessness

It is going rather far to equate this action of ours with the lawlessness of those anti-social beatniks who are the tragic products of two world wars in our generation.

Civil disobedience will have its place in the State of the future as the last resort short of violence which civilised people can use to disassociate themselves from action which they totally disapprove and have protested against by every political means open to them.

This is not anti-social or undemocratic because the objector takes upon himself the penalty of disobedience in the act of trying to convince his Government and his fellow citizens, and at the same time to warn and appeal to other countries whose fate is no less involved.



## POLARIS ACTION



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# THE 'OPEN DOOR' POLICY AND *West Indian immigrants*

By Rev. Clifford S. Hill

**Q**UESTIONS were asked in Parliament recently concerning the large increase in the number of migrants coming to Britain from the West Indies. This was followed by Mr. Cyril Osborne's attempt to introduce a Private Member's Bill to reverse Britain's "Open Door" policy towards immigration from the Commonwealth.

The fact that there had been an increase in the number of coloured migrant entries during the past year took many people by surprise. The subject has not been finding its way into the newspapers in recent months and with life continuing on an even keel in Notting Hill, the focal point of the colour question and racial discrimination shifted to Africa and the Southern States of the USA.

A glance at the relative figures for West Indian immigrants over the past few years is sufficient to give cause for grave disquiet to those social workers who have some knowledge of the problems being created in the already overcrowded areas in which these migrants are settling.

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1955—24,473 | 1958—16,511 |
| 1956—26,441 | 1959—20,397 |
| 1957—22,473 | 1960—52,655 |

The fall in the number of migrants in 1958 is traceable as one of the direct consequences of the disturbances in Notting Hill and Nottingham, and also due to the temporary rise in unemployment in Britain.

In spite of the increase in the number of immigrants during 1960, there has been no corresponding increase in the number of unemployed in the country. The latest figures published by the Ministry of Labour show a decrease in the four-week period ending mid-February, giving an overall decrease for the country from 1.9 per cent to 1.7 per cent.

It is interesting to note that the comparative figure in mid-February last year was 2.0 per cent. Thus there has been a drop in unemployment of 0.3 per cent during the twelve months when West Indian immigration has been at its highest ever.

This shows that the vast majority of the migrants have been absorbed into British industry with very little trouble.

Since the sharp fall-off in migration in 1958, confidence has been restored and ever growing numbers have been seeking to book passages on any available boat to Britain. Business is booming among shipping companies in the West Indies. Many of them have opened branches in outlying country districts where the population consists mainly of impoverished, illiterate peasants. The shipping companies offer advice to would-be immigrants and passages to Britain on easy-payment terms.

## DETERMINATION

Despite all that has been said by Mr. Norman Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, and other responsible Government officials who have visited Britain during recent years, nothing seems to discourage the West Indian from selling his small plot of land or from collecting the combined savings of his family and scraping together the necessary £86 for the passage to Britain on the next banana boat in which he can secure a berth.

The plain fact is that the economic situation in the West Indies is so critical that Government officials there do not wish to curb immigration even if they had the power to do so. Unemployment in Jamaica is officially estimated to be between 15 per cent and 20 per cent.

It should be noted that this is only an estimate, as the unemployed are not required to register. The figure is undoubtedly low and does not take account of seasonal work where men are unemployed for perhaps more than half the year. It is these factors plus low wages and a meagre standard of living that forces West Indians to seek a living outside their native islands.

The majority of West Indians in Britain

have some dependents at home to whom they regularly send money. The very fact that they can save perhaps £2 or £3 out of their weekly wage packet to send to relatives at home, despite all that is said about adverse conditions in Britain, convinces the West Indian that if the streets of London are not paved with gold, at least there is a lot more on this side of the Atlantic than at home.

Many even interpret the warnings of their friends as an act of selfishness. They say to themselves, "Ah, they are on a good thing and they are trying to keep it to themselves. We must get to England by all means!"

## OPEN DOOR

Thus with the British Government continuing to leave the door wide open and also apparently doing very little about the causes of migration, enormous problems are being created for the British social worker and very little is being done to train or equip him for his job. If an economic slump should hit Britain the problems would be intensified to an inflammatory point where the scandal of further racial riots would not be beyond the bounds of possibility.

There is growing concern in West Indian Government circles over the rapidly increasing rate of migration to Britain. If this increase continues, as seems likely, they

realise that the British Government will come under growing pressure in future months to "close the door" or at least to limit the numbers.

This would be a tragedy, both from the West Indian point of view and for the whole structure of the Commonwealth. The aim of the present West Indian Government is to try to persuade other Commonwealth Governments to drop their colour bar and to allow Coloured as well as White immigrants. They were hoping to achieve some step forward in this direction during the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Clearly something has got to be done to help the West Indian situation. The pressure of migration to Britain will continue and will gain momentum so long as the present conditions last. The population is rising considerably. With illegitimacy in Jamaica as high as 80 per cent, and the falling death rate and rising birth rate, some idea of the size of the problem may be gained.

The other way in which Britain can help is in the field of industrial expansion. Surely the time has come for Britain to plough back into the Commonwealth some of the wealth she has drained from these lands in past generations? Nothing short of a full-size Government scheme for promoting new industries in the West Indies will ever help solve the economic problems of the Federation. Such a scheme would surely also have the effect of easing our own social and housing problems in Britain if it slowed the rate of migration to the country.

It is to our shame that almost all the industrialisation at present being carried out in the West Indies is under the direction of American capital.

# INSPECTION AND

## DEBATE ON SURVIVAL—VI

By S. W. Green

**I**T is unrealistic to suppose that you can sweep nuclear weapons away. We have to learn to live with them.

The slogan "Ban the H-bomb" is meaningless. Even if agreement were reached on such a ban, there could be no assurance that it would be kept, for there is no superior power to enforce it. The knowledge of the Bomb has entered the world, and cannot be destroyed.

The only force strong enough to control the H-bomb is the determination never to use it. Our slogan should be, not "Ban the H-bomb", but "Abandon the H-bomb."

Furthermore, it is likely that nuclear weapons may be developed which can be set off without producing blast. This development has already been claimed. No means of detection can ever be found for the testing of such weapons.

The supposed difficulties of inspection and control are not fundamental; they are symptomatic of the Cold War. As soon as there is a real desire on both sides to end the nuclear arms race, progress will become possible.

There will be no difficulty about concluding a permanent ban on detectable tests. At present one side demands that nuclear



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It is interesting to note that the comparative figure in mid-February last year was 2.0 per cent. Thus there has been a drop in unemployment of 0.3 per cent during the twelve months when West Indian immigration has been at its highest ever.

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The majority of West Indians in Britain

## VI ON SURVIVAL

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The slogan "Ban the H-bomb" is meaningless. Even if agreement were reached on such a ban, there could be no assurance that it would be kept, for there is no superior power to enforce it. The knowledge of the Bomb has entered the world, and cannot be destroyed.

The only force strong enough to control the H-bomb is the determination never to use it. Our slogan should be, not "Ban the H-bomb", but "Abandon the H-bomb." We believe we can persuade our fellow-countrymen to throw this foul weapon away.

Our long-term aim—to get rid of nuclear weapons throughout the world—is more difficult, and won't be finally accomplished until war itself has disappeared. But Britain can show the way.



*The hard truth is, I am afraid, that nuclear disarmament is a lost cause, for it is impossible to obtain a reliable inspection system.*

*You won't get disarmament until each side can be sure that the other is fulfilling its obligations under the disarmament agreement. With nuclear weapons there can be no certainty on this point.*

Conventional disarmament is comparatively easy to inspect, for the weapons are bulky and difficult to conceal, and it is hard to falsify returns of the number of men in the fighting services. But with nuclear weapons the position is different. Enough fissile material to set up hell on earth can be packed away in a spare cupboard.

The most hopeful field for the establishment of rigorous control is that of detection of nuclear tests, but even in this comparatively simple matter we seem to be at a dead end. We can't agree to a ban on tests unless we can be sure that the enemy will observe it.

To agree to an indefinite cessation of tests under any other condition would put us at a hopeless military disadvantage, for the enemy might disregard the ban and continue his weapon development.

Yet how can this condition be met? It's clear that if sufficient precautions are taken to cushion blast, devices can be exploded underground that cannot be detected, or which are indistinguishable from other subterranean events.

Furthermore, it is likely that nuclear weapons may be developed which can be set off without producing blast. This development has already been claimed. No means of detection can ever be found for the testing of such weapons.

The supposed difficulties of inspection and control are not fundamental; they are symptomatic of the Cold War. As soon as there is a real desire on both sides to end the nuclear arms race, progress will become possible.

There will be no difficulty about concluding a permanent ban on detectable tests. At present one side demands that nuclear tests should be stopped for ever. The other side demands the establishment of a control organisation.

These demands are not incompatible. If the spirit of conciliation were to overcome the prevailing obstructionist frame of mind, both demands could be met. Suspicion of an inspection system set up under military auspices in a Cold War atmosphere is only to be expected.

What we must work for is the creation of a body of observers as part of a World Guard independent of any national govern-

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# HUNGER

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## FEED A CHILD

"No child on earth should look like this" wrote one of the countless contributors who have enabled us to send £180,000 to Congo famine victims. "Due to their immediate response," says U.N. cable, "death rate reduced from 200 to 25 per day." Can we be satisfied with 25 deaths a day. Medical aid and food are still vital. So long as children can hope for nothing but death so long must our compassion continue. In addition, and despite the tragedy in the Congo, Oxfam must not fail those desperately needing food, medical aid and shelter in North Africa, Hong Kong and other hunger areas.

Send a gift now to: Press Relief, Barclay's Bank Ltd., High Street, Oxford.



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# Holy Loch action

By TERENCE CHANDLER

*Terry Chandler is a 21-year-old former Birmingham University student. Last year the writer was imprisoned for six months for civil disobedience at the Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment. He is now at the Polaris Action Camp on the shores of the Holy Loch. Below he describes the attempt to reach the USS Proteus on its arrival on March 3.*

**DURING** the last two weeks about 200 pressmen including about a dozen television teams from all over the world have visited our camp on the shore of the Holy Loch. It is only 150 yards from the Proteus.

Six of us took part in the initial action against the Proteus, all Englishmen I am afraid—Laurens Otter, Mike Nolan, Harry Smith, John Beaumont, Ken Morse and myself. A group of Scots would have been with us but were prevented from leaving the shore by the police.

Our fleet consisted of two twin-seater canoes, one single-seater kayak and a dinghy. John and Ken took the dinghy, Laurens the small kayak.

## CONTROL

ment. To organise and man this body we should look to the peace movement, not to the armed forces or the civil services.

If nuclear disarmament is a lost cause, so is humanity itself. But nuclear disarmament is attainable. Four stages may be anticipated: (1) the cessation of detectable tests; (2) the cessation of manufacture of further nuclear weapons; (3) the handing over of existing stocks of weapons to a world authority; (4) the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The first stage is obviously amenable to inspection, and there is every reason to suppose that an efficient control could verify the observance of an agreement to cease further manufacture of nuclear



The scene at the Holy Loch last week as the Polaris submarine "Patrick Henry" arrives alongside the tender "Proteus". In the foreground Laurens Otter paddles his kayak towards the vessels to continue the protest at their arrival. Police and British naval launches, left and right, with frogmen waiting to dive overboard, keep him away from the Americans lining the "Proteus" and the submarine.

To oppose our small fleet the Navy had 16 launches, a corvette, two ocean going tugs and two military fishing vessels. On board each launch were at least four policemen and two frogmen in addition to the crew. On land, the shores of the Loch were patrolled by about 20 patrol cars and eight vans with about one hundred policemen in uniform and plain clothes. Also in the Loch were about a dozen press launches and above us zoomed five press aircraft.

Our plan was to move into the Loch and meet up with the others, Laurens, John, Ken and the Scots who were pulling out further down the coast. We went straight out into the Loch, then up the centre towards our rendezvous point.

We quickly realised that something was wrong. We spotted Ken and John in the dinghy pulling towards us and Laurens further back in his canoe. A naval launch went alongside the dinghy. We saw a grappling iron thrown down into the boat and it was pulled up into the stern of the launch so that it was at an angle of 45 degrees. With Ken and John hanging on for dear life it was towed at about 30

"Good Luck" and I started to swim towards the Proteus which was only a few hundred yards away.

I didn't last long. Frogmen were after me and my swimming was no match for their flippers. About 20 yards from the capsized kayak I was grabbed and held while the launch was brought nearer. By some fluke he let me go and for a few seconds I was again moving nearer the Proteus. This time two of them stopped me and, with the boat now alongside, I was unceremoniously hauled aboard with a boat hook through the seat of my trousers. When they had me on board they let me go. Like a flash I was over the side again and away. Eventually however, I was again on board and this time they held me fast.

## ARREST

Mike and Harry were on board waiting for me. We were cold. We did our best to explain ourselves to them and the police. I felt very worried that we had so endangered their lives. One policeman had broken his watch while hauling me aboard.

selves in the navigation channel of the Polaris Depot ship Proteus, after having been warned not to do so by a police constable, and then behaving in such a way likely to cause a breach of the peace."

We were held in custody for six hours, then released. Our charge will be considered by the Procurator Fiscal who will decide whether or not to take further action. In the meantime our boats are being held to be used as evidence against us.

We intend to continue our activities until the march from London arrives here at Whitsuntide. During this period we will try to commit specific acts of civil disobedience, such as impeding the entrance of submarines and boarding them whenever possible.



for all



to the armed forces or the civil services.

If nuclear disarmament is a lost cause, so is humanity itself. But nuclear disarmament is attainable. Four stages may be anticipated: (1) the cessation of detectable tests; (2) the cessation of manufacture of further nuclear weapons; (3) the handing over of existing stocks of weapons to a world authority; (4) the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The first stage is obviously amenable to inspection, and there is every reason to suppose that an efficient control could verify the observance of an agreement to cease further manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Admittedly it may be possible to conceal the presence of existing nuclear weapons and the material from which they are manufactured, but when an international inspectorate is formed on the basis of agreement between the Powers it is hardly conceivable that they will deliberately withhold information from it. It will have no resemblance to any agency formed to inspect the armaments of a nation defeated in war, as in Germany after Versailles, where some incentive to concealment did exist.

Moreover, although existing stocks of nuclear weapons might conceivably be hidden by an uncooperative nation which had become a reluctant party to a control agreement, it is impossible to hide the bomber and missile bases—or even the submarines—from which they would be propelled.

The sort of unjustified pessimism that you have expressed about the possibility of control is a screen, frequently used nowadays, to cover reluctance to disarm. The difficulties that are raised are artificial.

Of course we shall never get a foolproof system of inspection which can be relied upon to work in an atmosphere where everyone suspects everyone else. Those who say that we cannot have disarmament until we have set up a complete control system are putting the cart before the horse. The first essential is a measure of trust.

When we have found that, we shall start to disarm, and progress can then be accelerated by creating a body of international observers whose work will help to allay remaining suspicions. We survivalists want uncontrolled disarmament if we can get it, but we see no contradiction in the phrase "controlled disarmament" provided the demand for control is not put forward in order to prevent progress.

Our plan was to move into the Loch and meet up with the others, Laurens, John, Ken and the Scots who were pulling out further down the coast. We went straight out into the Loch, then up the centre towards our rendezvous point.

We quickly realised that something was wrong. We spotted Ken and John in the dinghy pulling towards us and Laurens further back in his canoe. A naval launch went alongside the dinghy. We saw a grappling iron thrown down into the boat and it was pulled up into the stern of the launch so that it was at an angle of 45 degrees. With Ken and John hanging on for dear life it was towed at about 30 m.p.h. across the Loch. I didn't notice what happened to them after that.

## THE CHASE

The launches were now after us. Mike was surrounded by some six or eight launches, but by magnificent canoeing managed to dodge them. We decided to head for the shore and rejoin the "battle" when the Proteus was nearer to hand. The launches gave chase, but with a bit of dodging we managed to gain the shore. About half a dozen launches converged on us.

From the shore we had a magnificent view of Mike's one man "battle" with the British Navy. Time and time again he escaped the lunging boat hooks. He made use of the press launches, putting them as much as possible between himself and the navy launches. Eventually through sheer exhaustion he misjudged a stroke and was grabbed by a keen young constable. He and his kayak were hauled aboard the launch.

By now the Proteus was opposite us. We jumped in the canoe, and using the press boats as shields paddled furiously outwards. We were a good four hundred yards out before the first launch was upon us. As she tried to draw alongside we turned and went across her bow. Four or five times we repeated this manoeuvre, so preventing the use of either boat hooks or frogmen.

By this time more launches were joining the "battle". One of them came up on each side of us, then one rammed us and we were overturned. Frogmen dived in and Harry was grabbed immediately, unable to free himself from the kayak. I was luckier, I managed to kick myself free, Harry yelled

and, with the boat now alongside, I was unceremoniously hauled aboard with a boat hook through the seat of my trousers. When they had me on board they let me go. Like a flash I was over the side again and away. Eventually however, I was again on board and this time they held me fast.

## ARREST

Mike and Harry were on board waiting for me. We were cold. We did our best to explain ourselves to them and the police. I felt very worried that we had so endangered their lives. One policeman had broken his watch while hauling me aboard. We expressed concern at this but he assured us that he would be compensated.

Arriving at Dunoon Police Station we were given a warm electric fire. Our outer clothing was removed and we were given blankets. The police were entirely friendly and sympathetic. We were charged with:

"On Friday, March 3rd, at a point some three hundred yards from Graham Point, in a two-seater canoe placing your-

## Charges dropped

THE six anti-Polaris demonstrators who were arrested after patrol boats intercepted their canoes during the arrival of the Proteus in the Holy Loch have had the charges against them dropped. Their canoes have also been returned to them by the police.

This was confirmed on Sunday by Mr. D. S. Thaw, Procurator-Fiscal for Argyll, who said that he had received instructions to drop the charges. The charge against Laurens Otter for obstructing the Polaris submarine Patrick Henry is still pending.

used as evidence against us. We intend to continue our activities until the march from London arrives here at Whitsuntide. During this period we will try to commit specific acts of civil disobedience, such as impeding the entrance of submarines and boarding them whenever possible.

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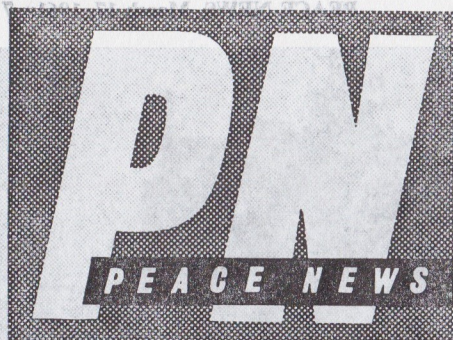
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## Vote forced on Estimates

INTRODUCING the Air Estimates for the financial year 1961-62, Mr. Julian Amery (the Secretary of State for Air), stated in the House of Commons on Wednesday of last week: "The Air Estimates we are considering today amount to about £527 million. This is a vast sum of money, and it is right to ask whether we are getting value for this expenditure."

During the course of the debate on these Estimates Mr. Malcolm Macmillan (Western Isles) said: "We then came to discussing the deployment of the non-existent methods of effective defence and equipment for defence. It clearly at this stage also becomes a Boy Scouts' jamboree, does it not?"

"When we know we cannot defend, what is the sense of talking of defence weapons? And when we are using the wrong defence weapons, how can we justify the expenditure of this £600 million in these Estimates and call this a defence Estimate and frankly face our constituents?"

"That is half the trouble today. We in this committee are far more concerned with pleasing our constituents and holding their votes than with telling them the so-called truth about 'defence.'"

### Amendment

As the debate proceeded, speaker after speaker drew attention to the "fantasies and myths" which surrounded the defence policy being submitted to their scrutiny by Government spokesmen.

Emrys Hughes moved an amendment to

# THINK AGAIN FINCHINGFIELD

Peace News Reporter

FINCHINGFIELD is an Essex village of 950 souls who are proud of their village greens and the memory that their village was a showpiece during the Festival of Britain. However, the Parish Council of nine members raised no objections when it was decided to establish a base for the US Strategic Air Command less than two miles away. They seem unaware that their lovely village stands in imminent danger of total obliteration if the threat of nuclear war becomes a reality.

It seems more important for them to meet in solemn conclave to keep away

### ASK NO QUESTIONS

The two RB-47 airmen . . . told newsmen what happened to them after their RB-47 was shot down over the Barents Sea last July when flying a "ferret" mission to test Russian radar defences. . . Olmstead and McKone said they were ready for "any job the Air Force gives us."

Newsman: Would you be ready to fly the same mission again?

McKone: If the Air Force orders me to do such a mission again, I would not hesitate.

Olmstead: Same here.

—Time magazine, last Friday.

supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament when they assemble in Finchfield on Good Friday at the commencement of the four-day Easter march.

Campaign leaders have been trying to accommodate local sensitivity by keeping the assembly point away from the village centre. They suggested meeting on the local playing field, but were turned down because some expensive turfing had recently been carried out.

In fact, it would appear the local councillors do not want the march at all and seem to be deliberately obstructing all plans forwarded by the Campaign. They have sent a copy of the local by-laws governing the use of the greens and controlling what could or could not be done, to the headquarters of the Campaign. Also they have informed the police about their actions.

Faced with this, the Chairman of the Campaign (Canon John Collins) has stated that in view of the Council's decision about the playing field there was no alternative but to assemble on the greens.

Preparations in hand by the Campaign indicate that several thousands will meet there on Good Friday. In spite of the un-co-operative attitude of the Council the Campaign will proceed with the march.

## Emrys Hughes challenges Labour's leadership on Polaris

● FROM PAGE ONE

assurances from the Prime Minister—that they did not get—that there was to be British control of submarines operating from the Holy Loch.

Mr. Denis Healey even asked that the submarines should have British personnel aboard, and there were other demands that were suddenly dropped.

Some of the Labour MPs who support Mr. Gaitskell took the line that the Government had acted unwisely in agreeing to the Holy Loch but were prepared to consider

Party leadership doesn't mention Polaris at all. But in the earlier debates Mr. Denis Healey had denounced Mr. Macmillan for "being arrogant on matters of life and death to the British people."

**So on a matter of life and death to the British people the Labour Party leadership chooses to be evasive and silent.**

One of the most curious contributions to the controversy appeared in the *Daily Herald* last Monday when Mr. John Beavan, the editor, said that "Labour has its Salisburys too; Salisburys of the Left who cannot bring themselves to face unpleasant

## Anti-war march for May Day

From JOHN CONNELL

Glasgow

THE Glasgow Trades Council, the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Group have announced their intention to hold the biggest anti-war march ever held in Glasgow on May Day.

Frank Cousins is to be the principal speaker at the rally which will be held at the end of the march in Queen's Park, and Robin Hall and Jimmy MacGregor, of the BBC "Tonight" programme, have offered their services.

Mr. Keith Bovey, Chairman of Glasgow CND, has stated that the Campaign will ensure that the new Polaris missile base is an important issue in the pending by-election in Paisley. Candidate John Robertson, an AEU official, has said he is against the establishment of the Polaris base in the Holy Loch.

If the local Labour Party opposes the Government's nuclear programme boldly enough, it is expected that their candidate will receive the support of all those who have been demonstrating against Polaris in recent weeks.

The Scottish Nationalist Party have given the Polaris Action group about £50 to enable them to continue their opposition to the Proteus and her attendant submarines. Plans are now being made for mass civil disobedience against the base at Whitsuntide, and an appeal for funds is being made by the Direct Action Committee whose address is 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4.

every paragraph of the statement that the leadership now wants the Labour Party to swallow.

"The unilateralists," writes Mr. Beavan, "their blood already stirred by the prospects of the Easter march, are already trying to revert to their previous position. Mr. Anthony Greenwood has called this weekend for a campaign 'for the full Scarborough policy.'"

One wonders how much blood will be stirred by the anaemic official document with its latest rehash and conglomeration of contradictions defended on the ground that



and call this a defence Estimate and frankly face our constituents ?

"That is half the trouble today. We in this committee are far more concerned with pleasing our constituents and holding their votes than with telling them the so-called truth about 'defence.'"

## Amendment

As the debate proceeded, speaker after speaker drew attention to the "fantasies and myths" which surrounded the defence policy being submitted to their scrutiny by Government spokesmen.

Emrys Hughes moved an amendment to the Air Estimates which sought to reduce the expenditure. This was the limit constitutional procedure would allow and at the end of the debate, against the advice of the Opposition Front Bench, 22 members voted for the reduction. They were:

Fenner Brockway (Eton & Slough), George Craddock (Bradford, S.), Harold Davies (Leek), Michael Foot (Ebbw Vale), Will Griffiths (Manchester Exchange), Mrs. Judith Hart (Lanark), J. Hill (Midlothian), Richard Kelley (Don Valley), Malcolm Macmillan (Western Isles), Archie Manuel (Central Ayrshire).

Ben Parkin (Paddington, N.), Laurence Pavitt (Willesden), Arthur Probert (Aberdare), John Rankin (Govan), Julius Silverman (Birmingham, Aston), Sydney Silverman (Nelson and Colne), Ellis Smith (Stoke, S.), Leslie Spriggs (St. Helens), Stephen Swingle (Newcastle-under-Lyme), William Warbey (Ashfield), Tudor Watkins (Brecon and Radnor), Konni Zilliacus (Manchester, Gorton).

Emrys Hughes (S. Ayrshire) and Frank Allaun (Salford East) acted as tellers for the amendment.

On Wednesday night of last week Mr. Gaitskell's warning to the "rebels" at a private meeting of the Parliamentary Party was interpreted as a threat that the Shadow Cabinet would recommend withdrawal of the Party Whip from any MP who voted against the final stages of the Service Estimates on Tuesday. But on Tuesday night the debate on the Army Estimates was adjourned.

## HOUSMANS

The Peace News Bookshop  
5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross, London. N.1

### CAPITALISM & UNO —OR SOCIALISM ?

Sunday, March 19, at 7.30 p.m.  
Mahatma Gandhi Hall, 41 Fitzroy Sq.  
Nr. Warren Street tube.  
Speakers : P. Bryant, E. Grant.  
Socialist Party of Great Britain.

# Emrys Hughes challenges Labour's leadership on Polaris

## FROM PAGE ONE

assurances from the Prime Minister—that they did not get—that there was to be British control of submarines operating from the Holy Loch.

Mr. Denis Healey even asked that the submarines should have British personnel aboard, and there were other demands that were suddenly dropped.

Some of the Labour MPs who support Mr. Gaitskell took the line that the Government had acted unwisely in agreeing to the Holy Loch but were prepared to consider it being based elsewhere.

## WHERE

But where ? That remains a mystery. Mr. Gaitskell should be pressed to state where in Scotland or in England Polaris should be based, if it is unacceptable in the Holy Loch.

At first Mr. George Brown hinted at Loch Ewe or Scapa Flow, but hurriedly dropped these suggestions when Commander Pursey ridiculed them at a Parliamentary Labour Party meeting on the ground that these places were regarded as too dangerous for British naval vessels during the last war.

So now in the official draft the Labour

Party leadership doesn't mention Polaris at all. But in the earlier debates Mr. Denis Healey had denounced Mr. Macmillan for "being arrogant on matters of life and death to the British people."

## So on a matter of life and death to the British people the Labour Party leadership chooses to be evasive and silent.

One of the most curious contributions to the controversy appeared in the *Daily Herald* last Monday when Mr. John Beavan, the editor, said that "Labour has its Salisburys too; Salisburys of the Left who cannot bring themselves to face unpleasant reality and who look for a way of contracting out."

Mr. Beavan seeks refuge in obvious absurdities. It is the official leadership who are more like the Salisburys, for they are dodging the unpleasant reality of the Polaris base at the Holy Loch, and it is they who have contracted out of even mentioning it.

## Surely this contracting out of even mentioning the dreaded and unpopular word Polaris is the most remarkable experiment in artful dodgery in contemporary politics.

This is only one example of it. There is much more. It is to be found in nearly

## TWO WEEKS TO GO

**PEACE NEWS' Aldermaston-Wethersfield plans are rapidly taking shape. Mrs. Pat Kershaw (89 Lexden Rd., Colchester) has taken over sales organisation for the Eastern march. Sales volunteers are asked to contact her in advance. Another Essex reader is generously placing a van at our disposal.**

Another Peace News van will commence from Falcon Field, Aldermaston, with Ian Dixon in charge of selling on that route. Our vans will be prominently placarded with PN posters and pull in ahead of each halt on the march to stock up new volunteers and replenish others. In each march pacifist nuclear disarmament banners will follow the Quaker contingent, and unattached readers will be cordially welcomed. Reserve supplies of PN will also be available in this section.

Peace News readers in all parts of the country are urged to send now for supplies to reach them before they leave for their assembly point. Local sales and distribution en route will all help to swell

the total of potential recruits to Peace News and all it stands for. Extra sales of this and next week's issues are important, too, to publicise the marches.

**On Easter Monday every available helper will be needed in Trafalgar Square from 1.30 p.m. onwards (supplies at the east side of Nelson's Column).**

**TEN THOUSAND EXTRA SALES IS THE TARGET—MAKE YOUR PERSONAL AIM TO SELL 100 COPIES. PLEASE HELP US BY ORDERING YOUR SUPPLY NOW.**

To Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.  
Please send

"Marching Orders" for PN readers.

..... doz. March 17, 24 Peace News for pre-march activities.

..... doz. March 31 PN required by.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

PN rates : sale or return 5s. doz. Give-aways 3s. doz.

every paragraph of the statement that the leadership now wants the Labour Party to swallow.

"The unilateralists," writes Mr. Beavan, "their blood already stirred by the prospects of the Easter march, are already trying to revert to their previous position. Mr. Anthony Greenwood has called this weekend for a campaign 'for the full Scarborough policy.'"

One wonders how much blood will be stirred by the anaemic official document with its latest rehash and conglomeration of contradictions defended on the ground that the Labour Party "must stop quarrelling" now and accept the official document on the ground that it will bring about Party unity.

But we cannot accept a document until we know precisely what it means. Will Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Brown tell us precisely what their attitude is on Polaris and whether the Labour Party if it gets into power will stand for bigger, better and more costly Polarises—or what ?

Mr. Cousins has at least told us precisely where he stands on the American bases and on Polaris.

**The Labour Party leadership, realising how unpopular Polaris is in the country, has funkcd facing the issue and has tried to pass by on the other side.**

## 250,000 leaflets

SOME fifty Youth Campaigners helped by three loudspeaker vans have visited the London boroughs of Stepney and Clapham in their recruiting drive for the Aldermaston-Wethersfield march. Intensive leafleting in the High Streets and local housing estates was followed up by street corner meetings. This week-end they will spread the recruiting campaign to Hammer-smith and the West parts of London, and Bromley in Kent.

No. 11, Colville Place, London, W.1, has become the centre from which the systematic distribution of over a quarter of a million last minute leaflets will be given out at the underground stations in central London. The London Region of CND are appealing for more volunteers for this work and would like supporters of the Campaign to go to this address.

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Roy Sherwood discusses

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in the Commonwealth  
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## HOLY LOCH ACTION

Terence Chandler reports on  
the little fleet of kayaks  
that tried to impede  
the Polaris base  
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## BRITAIN'S WEST INDIANS

The Rev. Clifford S. Hill  
looks at immigration  
and the policy of  
the "open door"  
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## MICHAEL SCOTT

on civil disobedience  
and freedom  
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# Cars, walkers, riders to invade Imber

By AUSTIN UNDERWOOD

D-DAY (D for Decision) in the peaceful battle for Imber is likely to be a week next Sunday, March 26. On that date the Army is expected to

No. 1,290

London, March 17, 1961

SIXPENCE

US Air Express  
Edition 10 cents

The Party leadership has funk'd facing the  
Polaris issue, says Emrys Hughes

# LABOUR'S LORD SALISBURYS



photo: Austin Underwood

Old military iron lying about once fruitful farmland at Imber, Wiltshire, is being cleared away—now that the public is coming back in great numbers. These oxygen cylinders are used for breaking up tanks.

War Department that their plans should not interfere with any Civil Defence Exercise or the Territorial Army, and if either of

By Emrys Hughes, MP

MR. FRANK COUSINS has again done a service to the Labour Party by stating bluntly that the latest Defence statement produced by the joint Labour Party—TUC—Parliamentary Labour Party is very little different from the one that was defeated at Scarborough. Indeed, he declares that it is worse. And in this respect he is quite right.

Now Mr. Cousins' own statement is not a pacifist declaration—it would have been more logical if it had been. But it is a much more precise and clear attempt to state a policy for Labour than either the official document or the Crossman amendment to it.

For example, Mr. Cousins states quite clearly: "The provision of nuclear bases, including supply and servicing depots for Polaris submarines, is in opposition to our policy of reducing the dependence upon nuclear weapons, and cannot be supported."

## CONFLICT

That is in direct conflict with the official statement, which says:

"It may well be that within a few years Western defence will not require America to have strategic bases overseas. Meanwhile, as a loyal member of the alliance, Britain cannot oppose on principle the establishment of allied bases on her territory. But she must remain free to decide according to the circumstances of the case whether or not any particular project should be undertaken."